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THE PACIFIC OCEAN AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.*

The Mediterranean, North and Baltic Seas have always been European seas; and have played their part in the making of a common life about their shores. When in the fourteenth century the Atlantic European coast was first used these two mediterranean lakes were united and the beginning of a new phase of European culture was greatly accelerated. The Atlantic Ocean, one may justly say, has always been and is an European lake. When the Europeans arrived in America no nation was present to contest with them the supremacy of this Ocean, and since that day no rivals have appeared there to endanger the European dominance. The Atlantic at the present day is international only in the European sense of the term; from the world point of view it is still an European sea with European peoples and ideals in control of all its coast. The Indian Ocean, on the other hand, has always been an international sea—where, however, the Asiatics have been paramount. Chinese, Malaysians, Hindoos, Arabians, Egyptians and Africans have followed its continental shores from the earliest days. Greeks and Phœnicians have plowed its water; Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English have in turn been in control, but it is still an international sea in the broadest sense of the term, and in its racial aspect it is still Asiatic. With the exception of the Arabians in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean is the only sea where the European and the Asiatic have met in war and peace. The Pacific Ocean is historically the youngest of all the seas, the baby of all the oceans. Until the eighteenth century its eastern peoples held it in much the same respect that the Europeans held the Atlantic before the time of Columbus; and the people that penetrated from island to island into its interior left, as one may judge from their legends, very much as the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast and

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islands felt before the days of Henry the Navigator. Its western edges have been given eastern names—China, Eastern, Yellow, Japan and Ochotsch Seas. For a century Russia controlled a part as her own; for two centuries and a half Spain dominated its greater portion; and only in the eighteenth century did its Europeanization begin—the making of it into an European international sea. And it was only with the rise of Japan and China in the late nineteenth century that it began its career as an international sea in the world-sense. The part that the Pacific Northwest played in the birth of this ocean child is the problem of this paper.

The Pacific Northwest in the historical sense, as now generally accepted, comprises the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, a part of Montana, together with British Columbia. In other words, it is the territory between 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$ and west of the Rocky Mountains—that territory drained by the Columbia and Fraser Rivers. It fronts to the Ocean and backs to the continent; in both directions it is uniquely and advantageously located.

On the land side it stands preeminently favored in its geographical and historical connection with the Atlantic from the mouth of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Nelson. Considering it geographically: The trans-continental river system from the Gulf of Mexico is via the Rio Grande and the Mississippi through the Red and Arkansas Rivers, the Missouri and The Platte—all leading into the Colorado valley and meeting the Pacific in the Gulf of California and the southern end of the state of California. From the Atlantic via the Ohio, the St. Lawrence and the Lakes the river connection with the Pacific is up the Missouri and its branches, The Platte and the Yellowstone, and on either to San Francisco Bay in following the Humboldt River or on to the Columbia in following down the Snake, Clearwater or Clarke Rivers. From Hudson Bay the Nelson-Saskatchewan Rivers again connect with the upper Columbia; or from the lower Hudson Bay over the Lakes and through the Athabasca and Peace Rivers the entrance to the Pacific is down the Fraser or the Skeena. The Hudson Bay-Mackenzie route leads to the Arctic; while crossing from the Mackenzie to the Yukon leads to Bering Sea. The Fraser and the Columbia drain the Pacific Northwest; and this territory, it is then noted, is the Pacific entrance from the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic via of the Ohio and the St. Lawrence and from the Hudson Bay—a characteristic noted in no other part of the Pacific Coast.

When considered historically a similar uniqueness is noted. The first crossings from one Ocean to the other were from the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea over the Isthmus by Balboa, and through Mexico to Acapulco and to the Gulf of California. The first crossing of the continent north of the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi was through the Great Lakes, Saskatchewan, Peace River, across the Fraser to the Ocean within

the territory of the Pacific Northwest. Then came Lewis and Clark down the Columbia; followed in time by the trail-makers over the Humboldt Sink and down the American River; and last of all came the miners from the Mackenzie to the Yukon.

The geographical connection of the Pacific Northwest with the Atlantic coast is not a sufficient explanation of its uniqueness in history; that is due to its own inherent wealth and to the accidents of legend and seamanship. It was India that drew the Spaniards across the Isthmus and Mexico, and European rivalry that helped to draw them northward up the Coast. It was the Northwest Passage that drew Drake towards the waters off the coast of the Pacific Northwest; and the legends of Maldonado, De Fonte, Peche and especially of Juan De Fuca that localized within its borders the western entrance of this long sought for passage; while the accident of Cook's finding of Nootka Sound discovered the existence of the fur-bearing animals and an accessible traders' rendezvous. These two things brought the traders by water, and the Northwest, the Hudson's Bay and the American Fur Companies by land. Gold in 1849 drew the prairie schooners down the Humboldt River; but gold in 1897 drew but very few people up the Mackenzie and down the Yukon.

From the consideration thus far one must conclude that the Pacific Northwest is but one of the five north continental gateways to the Pacific Ocean. Spain crossed the Isthmus from Mexico from what she considered to be one of her lakes to another; this is a Spanish gateway—it belongs to Spanish national and colonial history. Even though Spain laid claim to the rest of the Coast by right of papal arbitration the other nations of Europe ignorantly entered, drawn by one cause or another. From the days of Juan De Fuca the Pacific Northwest was closely associated with the Northwest Passage; the discovery of the fur-bearing animals placed it at once into the vortex of internationality; traders and explorers from different parts of Europe visited there; it drew to itself the transcontinental explorers and trappers; the fur companies headed toward its waters; it received the first settlers on the Coast beyond the Spanish and Russian rule; to its aborigines came the first missionaries not connected with a national enterprise; it was to have been the Pacific terminus of the first transcontinental railroad, and the first railroad survey made to the Coast was to its shores; it was the first part of the Coast to come into European international relations, as well as into European international complications. What fur was to this territory gold was later to California and still later to the Yukon. For the northern continent, then, it was geographically and historically *the* gateway to the Pacific, and north of the Isthmus it was the third place to perform this function.

For the southern continent such a question of gateways could not arise. Balboa on the north and Magellan on the south answered this question nearly three centuries before it was asked. And when it did arise it was either a Spanish colonial or a South American problem and not an European international question.

When the Pacific Northwest is considered as a gateway in relation to the coast stretching from the Magellan to the Bering Straits its unique position is again in evidence. From Patagonia to California the crossings and interests were *Spanish* and national. From California northward the coast, though claimed by Spain, was open to the other powers; yet it is the Pacific Northwest portion of it that became *European* and *European international*. Because the finding of its fur resulted in a trade of European peoples with China it became, moreover, international in the world sense. In other words, by the gateways from Acapulco southward Spain was led to a Spanish South Sea; the Pacific Northwest led European nations to an international Pacific.

In turning now to the birth of the Pacific Ocean one notices that it was an unexpected and unwelcome child. The Spice Islands and India were the objects of search by the western way that brought it, as well as America, first into evidence. Balboa saw the South Sea where Magellan later found the Pacific. Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands, the lack of nautical instruments to determine the longitudinal relation of this group to the Spice Islands discovered by the Portuguese in the preceding decade, and the Papal Line of Demarcation and the subsequent treaty of 1529 dividing the unknown lands and waters between Spain and Portugal—these are the facts that threw Spain into the Pacific and kept Portugal out. The pious observance of a papal mandate forced Spain to reach the Philippines through 230° of longitude, while Portugal reached even the Spice Islands through 130° . Saavedra shortened Magellan's way in reaching the Philippines from Acapulco; and a generation later Legazpi made the return voyage and Gali found the North Pacific current. Spanish, then, was the triangular part of the Ocean, whose base reached from Mexico to the Straits and whose apex lay in the Philippines. With the exception of the few sea-rovers hounding the Spanish plate fleets, the Pacific slept in the Spanish solitude till the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Bering built his town in Kamchatka and thence discovered the waters bearing his name, the islands and the Alaskan coast to Mt. St. Elias. In this extension of Russia into America a fur trade early arose and slowly within a century found its international limitation in the Pacific Northwest. Like Spain in her part of the Ocean Russia treated the northern waters as her own and upheld her

claim, internationally, to the sea north of a line running from the mouth of the Amour to a point within the Pacific Northwest.

At the end of the eighteenth century Cook discovered Australia and New Zealand on the one side, the Sandwich Islands in the center, and the Pacific Northwest on the opposite side of the Pacific. He completed the rim of the Ocean and brought it to the notice of an Europe ready to receive it. He found the fur-bearing animal on one side of the Pacific and a market for the fur on the other.* Unlike Spain and Russia, England laid no national claims to the Pacific, but through her example as a free discoverer and an ardent trader, she reared the child of Spain and Russia to its international majority as an European sea,—and through her introduction of Japan into the world-arena she introduced at the end of the nineteenth century the Pacific to its unique position as an international sea in the world sense.

The gateways to the Pacific have been with one exception on the eastern side. In the wake of Columbus to his India and in obedience to the papal throne, Spain entered the Ocean from the east on her way to the East Indies. In the wake of the Spanish plate-fleets came the English sea-rovers and bucaners; through the results of the Seven Years' War and the desire for the finding of the Northwest Passage as a short cut to India England again entered it from the eastern side. Following the English came the Americans, French, the Dutch-Austrians and the Germans. Australia and New Zealand were not gateways. The Portuguese, Dutch, French and English entered the East Indies on the Pacific's west; but the loadstar of the Age of Discovery set over these Islands, and these people penetrated no further into its waters. The Land of the Rising Sun only recently has faced about and discovered the Ocean whence came the prodding that waked her from her sleep, while China is even yet viewing it with the dust of centuries in her eyes. Kamchatka alone on the west opened up the Pacific to an expanding power, but like Spain Russia wrote above this gateway "private entrance." Australasia was too new, the Far East was too old, the East Indies were too self-sufficient; so Kamchatka alone was the western gateway—but only to a national ocean. On the other side of the Pacific from the Straits to Acapulco the gateways were considered by Spain, religiously and politically, as entrances to her own waters. This was true also of Russia in Alaska—which, by the way, was not a gateway from Russia to the Pacific, but the limit of her expansion. Between the Spanish and the Russian littorals lay the Pacific Northwest which England used by land and sea to enter into the Pacific.

*I am using the word Cook to cover the whole voyage from the time that it started from England until its return. Cook, of course, was killed in the Sandwich Islands and James commanded the expedition thence to China and Europe.

The England from Elizabeth to George III. outgrew the Spanish and papal claims to national ocean possession; and in spite of these claims entered into the Pacific by the Spanish Straits. The mere entrance of Cook into these waters and the mere discoveries which he made would alone put him on a plane but little above that of Canvendish and raise him but slightly above the historical importance of Drake. Russia knew of the fur-bearing animals of Siberia and Alaska, and also knew of the Chinese market for the fur; but Europe, ready to trade and venture, was still in the dark. Cook, in the same voyage, found both the animals and the market, and unstintingly made them known to the world. The world accepted; Europe, not England alone, now began its entrance into the Pacific through the Pacific Northwest, and the national rule of Spain and Russia began to wane. European internationality succeeded to European nationality.

Another point of interest to be noted is the relation into which Cook threw the opposite shores of the Pacific. Whatever was of value and use on the Pacific shore of Mexico and South America was of value and use in direct relation to Spain. Its gold and its products were transported to the old home or to parts of her possessions; and the Philippines were only outlying Islands off the coast of Spanish America. Russia brought the Alaskan wares to Siberia and thence overland to China and Europe, and also considered her part of the Ocean to be an inland sea and the Alaska lands as lands off the Siberian coast. Australia and England, the East Indies and their respective possessors were also *international* relations. But Cook's discoveries and the European utilization of them threw the Pacific into relations of its own. The centers of interest were the wares on the one coast and the markets on the other; European and American traders served as mediators.

The Pacific Northwest was the home of the fur-bearing animal; it drew the nations to its shores by water and to its rivers by land; it was the gateway to the Ocean by both land and water. Its wares, marketable in China, brought the shores of the Pacific together internationally as the papal bull had brought the Philippines to Spanish America nationally. The coming of the European nations to the Pacific Northwest by water and land made the Pacific what the Atlantic was—an European Ocean; but the trade between the Pacific Northwest and the Chinese markets made the Pacific what the Atlantic was not—an international ocean in the world sense. The freedom of the European colonies in America made, it is true, the Atlantic an international Ocean even in the relations on its western shores—yet still an European international Ocean.

In conclusion, then the Pacific Northwest seems to stand at the point where the national control passed over to the international interest in the great ocean; through this territory the European powers made its acquaint-

ance; through this territory they entered into its trade and exploration; and through this territory its shores were brought together. Asia and Europe were again brought face to face, and the Pacific itself made, as no other ocean has ever been made, an international and an interracial sea.

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Berkeley, Cal.,

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